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ABSTRACT

Presented in summary fashion, this pilot research project, conducted under the auspices of the Miami, Florida Police Department, was an outgrowth of the dual problems of deteriorating police-citizen relationships and escalating societal violence during recent years. The lack of empirical data on police behavior led to the project, limited in scope to the study of the effects of stress, fatigue, and individual psychology of the policeman on the outcomes of police-citizen interactions. The analysis focuses on the uniformed police officer's street contact with the citizen. Project goals were to understand factors influencing police behavior, and to modify police functions accordingly. The pilot study was conducted in three stages: (1) available data were reviewed, new tests procedures evaluated, and police behavior on the street observed; (2) twelve police officer volunteers were tested and observed for six months; (3) data were analyzed. The findings of this study are presented with the authors' recommendations for future research and study regarding selection, training, performance evaluation, and communications systems. (MW)

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CRIMINAL JUSTICE MONOGRAPH

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DETERMINANTS OF POLICE BEHAVIOR

A SUMMARY

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CRIMINAL JUSTICE MONOGRAPH

DETERMINANTS OF POLICE BEHAVIOR
A SUMMARY

By
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INTRODUCTION

by

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This pilot research project was conducted under the auspices of the Miami, Florida Police Department and funded by the U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

The study was an outgrowth of the dual problems of deteriorating police-citizen relationships and escalating societal violence during recent years. While policemen could in no way be held solely to blame for the worsening of these problems, neither could they be held entirely blameless. To the extent that the police contributed, wittingly or unwittingly, to these problems, corrective steps needed to be taken.

Because of Miami Police Chief Bernard L. Garmire's interest in these problems, the Miami Police Department was suggested as a favorable site for conducting this study. The analysis would focus on the uniformed police officer's street contact with the citizen. It was suggested that a major determinant of the outcome of a police-citizen street contact was the physical and psychological condition of the officer at the time of the contact. Further, it was suggested that an officer's physical and psychological condition was the result of a number of factors such as: how long he had been working; where he had been

working--in a ghetto or in a middle class area; deployment tactics; the amount and kind of training he had received; his street experience; and his reaction to physical fatigue and emotional stress.

What emerged from discussions of the foregoing was a realization that, although there was much good work which viewed the policeman's job in an overall and general context, there was very little actual data on how policemen behave on the street and how such factors as neighborhood, reaction of the citizen, deployment tactics, years of experience, etc. affected the outcome of a police-citizen contact. Hard, empirical data were needed above all else.

A series of conferences among members of the Miami Police Department, a representative of the Office of the City Manager of Miami, The University of Miami Law School, and the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice resulted in the submission to the National Institute of a pilot project, limited in scope to the study of the effects of stress, fatigue, and individual psychology of the policeman on the outcomes of police-citizen interactions.

As finalized, the goals of the project were: (1) to understand the factors which influence police behavior and to relate them to police functions in order to produce police behavior productive of desirable outcomes in police-citizen street contacts; (2) to <u>modify</u> these police functions in order to produce police behavior productive of desirable outcomes in police-citizen street contacts. It was hoped that once the

relationship of personality to police behavior was understood, more specific and precise methods of police selection could be utilized. Similarly, by understanding which street situation and contacts were experienced as the most stressful, appropriate methods for training police to better meet these situations could be developed.

The pilot study was conducted in three stages. In the first stage, the psychological test procedures and the basic behavioral data currently available in the Police Department were reviewed, and new test procedures were evaluated. Concurrent with these activities, police officers were trained to observe and rate police behavior on the street. Rating scales for types of stress and individual police responses to stress were developed as well as self-rating scales used by police on patrol to estimate their own fatigue level. Criteria for determining adequacy of police behavior were also developed and tested.

In the second stage a volunteer experimental group of twelve police officers were given psychological tests and then observed on street patrol for six months. In this way, data bearing on personality, fatigue, and stress were gathered.

In the third stage, the resultant data were analyzed with a view to understanding the relationship between such factors as psychological test scores, types and degrees of stress, amount of fatigue, citizen behavior, and types and adequacy of police behavior, to determine which combinations of these factors produce the varieties of police behavior in police-citizen contacts.

The following pages present in summary fashion the findings of this pilot study and the authors' recommendations for future research and study. A copy of the full report that details the activities and methodology can be obtained from the National Technical Information Service, U. S. Department of Commerce, Springfield, Virginia. Single copies of this summary report can be obtained from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, LEAA, Washington, D. C. 20530. Aspects of the study which focus on the policeman's role have been published by Dr. Rubin, as "Police Identity and the Police Role," in The Police and the Community, edited by Robert F. Steedman, (Johns Hopkins Press, 1972).

SUMMARY

SECTION 1: DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROJECT AND GOALS

This project was intitated by the Chief of Police of the City of Miami who was concerned with the need to better those factors leading to incidents of poor, impulsive police performance. It was hoped that by better understanding these circumstances, future incidents could be prevented, and also that increased understanding would have implications for police selection, training, and strategic operation. Certain parameters which were felt likely to affect police behavior were studied. These included fatigue (which was self rated by patrolmen), stress (rated by an observing patrolman), police behavior before and during police-citizen interactions (rated on a new behavioral rating scale developed specifically for this project), and citizen behavior (also rated on a new behavioral scale). In addition, the type of call, its status (whether major or minor) and the amount of participation in the episode by the observing officer were noted. It was decided (and this judgement was later borne out) that radio-patrolmen showing acute powers of observation and capacity to verbalize would make the best observers of these behavioral phenomenon.

Because this was a pilot project, and limitations of manpower and money prevented it, certain important possible determinants of police behavior were not included in this study. Most prominently, these had to do with two broad areas. The first is the effects on police behavior

of events outside of work, such as marital difficulty or the effects of moonlighting jobs. The second, had to do with the overall "culture" existent within the police department at the time of the study. It was the goal of the study to interrelate fatigue, stress, citizen behavior, type of call, neighborhood, shift, day of week, number of citizens, type of citizens, and psychological variables (as measured by a standardized, self-administered psychological test) to variations in police behavior in order to see which were determining factors in police behavior.

A group of four observing patrolmen were trained in behavioral observation techniques, and a group of twelve radio-patrolmen to be observed were selected randomly, except for the criteria that they must represent varying levels of experience in the force and that participation be voluntary. For a six month period of time, the observing patrolmen rode with the observed patrolmen on a pre-determined rotating schedule. As a result, over 1000 police-citizen interactions involving over 1400 citizens were analyzed. Our original goal was to see whether the methodologic approach used was a valid one, and the statistical results presented in the study should be viewed from that point of view. That is, though we believe the results of the study to be useful, they should be validated by a more extensive field investigation.

SECTION 2: FINDINGS FROM OVERALL ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

1. On the average, 4.45 police-citizen interactions occur per shift, representing 41% of the policeman's work time. The patrolmen studied spend by far the majority of their time in general service and peace keeping operations, with very little time devoted to actual crime

fighting activities. The largest single block of time which police spend is simply riding around on preventive patrol, writing reports, and taking breaks. This accounts for 59% of their time. Most of the rest of the time is taken up gathering information, handling citizen disturbances, working as a backup, and checking out cars for traffic violations or other suspicious activities.

2. Most police-citizen contact (62%) is the result of a radio initiated call.

3. Policemen display a change of behavior in terms of rate of speech, speed of driving, and evidence of muscle tension, on their way to between 11 and 20% of all calls. These changes are interpreted as measuring pre-call stress.

4. Of all the police behaviors measured while interacting with citizens the only one observed with a relatively large frequency and amount was controlling behavior. The other behaviors (educating-counseling, sympathizing, suspiciousness, assisting, threatening, and humor) occurred infrequently and in that descending order of frequency and amount.

5. On the whole, police-citizen interactions involve <u>very little</u> violence. Physical contact of any sort occurs in 20% of the episodes. One-third of this contact is friendly, while the remaining contacts are not friendly (i.e., varying from mildly unfriendly to assaultive). Almost all of the physically aggressive behavior on the part of the policemen toward the citizen occurs either in making an arrest or in handling drunks. Weapon use by the police occurs in only 3% of the contacts and 2/3 of that involves the use of handcuffs. Almost all of the rest is use of pistols. Citizens rarely use weapons and are very rarely aggressive towards police.

6. An analysis of the citizen roles with whom police come in contact reveals that he most often interacts with people he believes to be offenders (38% of all citizen contacts). Complainants and victims are also frequent citizen roles with which policemen come in contact. The policeman in the city of Miami is more apt to come in contact with white and black citizens and less apt to come in contact with Cuban citizens when the citizen group is compared with demographic data for Miami as a whole. On the other hand, a clear and important finding is that the role of the citizen (offender, victim, complainant witness, or other) is not related to race.

7. Measures of citizen behavior reveal that citizens on the whole are extremely docile when confronting policemen. This is true in all neighborhoods and for all ethnic groups. Only 15% of citizens are in any way aggressive with the police, and less that 3% are aggressive in more than a moderate amount. On the other hand, citizens express their negative feelings about the police by doing a fair amount of complaining (18% of contacts). In about 20% of contacts, citizens are asking police for some minimal assistance. Citizens are physically assaultive to police in less than .5% of contacts. These data, taken with other data from the study, show that negative, racial, and evil stereotypes of the citizens about the police and the police about citizens derive from a relatively infrequent number of bad episodes rather than from the absolute frequency with which injury or potential injury results in a police-citizen interaction.

8. In terms of the stressfulness of situations in which policemen find themselves on the street, approximately 6% of police calls were per-

ceived by the observer as being stressful. However, only about 1.5% have more than a minimal effect on the policeman's behavior, and somewhat less than 1% lead to a measurable deterioration of his performance due to the stress of the call. However, indirect measures of stress (need for observer participation in the episode, judgement of the call status as being major, and marked changes in pre-call behavior) would indicate that between 10 and 20% of the calls are stressful, but either are not perceived or not admitted to be so.

9. The amount of stress present in a situation seems to have a good deal of effect on the behavior of the officer. On the other hand, the actual behavior of the citizen has little effect on the behavior of the officer. This is contrary to what officers say about their behavior with citizens, but it is once again our conclusion that those citizen behaviors which do alter an officer's behavior occur rarely and not frequently enough to affect a large statistical pool of police-citizen interactions.

SECTION 3: ANALYSIS OF SPECIFIC PARTS OF THE DATA

1. The <u>self-initiated call</u>, as opposed to the <u>radio-directed call</u> has more to do with crime fighting activity than peace keeping activity. It is associated with less citizen cooperation and more police controlling and threatening behavior.

2. Types of signals coming in over the radio were analyzed in terms of the stress induced by them. As a result of this analysis, two things can be concluded. The first is that the amount of stress caused by a signal is inversely proportional to the frequency of the signal. That is, stressful signals are those which occur rarely, regardless of the type of incident which they describe. The second finding is that the vagueness

of the signals (the fact that they are semi-legalistic and administrative rather than descriptive by nature) probably contributes to the pre-episode stress that they initiate.

3. Boredom and inactivity is a major determinant of police behavior. Officers are less controlling and "cooler" in handling citizens when they are kept busy (on Saturday night, for example). That is, an officer will exhibit more controlling behavior towards any single citizen when he has had few citizen contacts and spends most of his time simply riding around in a patrol car. Inactivity also produces fatigue. The greatest and most consistent increments in fatigue at the end of a shift clearly occurred when the policeman had the least number of citizen contacts.

4. There are no large differences in police or citizen behavior in the various zones within the city. This runs so contrary to anything which police or citizens say (or indeed to what we had expected) that, after having analyzed all police and citizen behavior in each zone of the city, we picked three ethnically "pure" zones (a black, a white, and a Cuban zone) and ran the analysis again. There remained no important differences. There is, therefore, wide disparity between what policemen say about citizens (particularly racial attitudes) and how the citizens act. Policemen may voice, for example, fairly severe anti-black sentiment, but when they actually get in the ghetto they behave in a way consistent with their behavior in a white neighborhood. The same statement would hold true for black citizens and their attitudes versus their behavior to policemen.

5. An analysis of single citizen episodes revealed the following: Poorly dressed citizens are uncooperative, medium dressed citizens are more cooperative, well-dressed black citizens are quite cooperative, but well-dressed white citizens are less cooperative. Police perceive the most stressful citizens to be large sized teenagers, and the least stressful to be small sized teenagers. The least cooperative citizen group of all are large sized teenagers, regardless of race.

6. The most striking finding in the analysis of citizen data with regard to stress is that it is simply the number of citizens, rather than any particular attribute of the citizen, which causes stress for the policeman. Encountering two citizens is significantly more stressful than encountering one, and encountering three is significantly more stressful than encountering two. Stress induced by citizen contact with policemen is largely simply a numbers game.

7. In comparing older black, older white, and younger white officers (we had no younger black officers in the observed sample), we found that older, more experienced officers of either race tend to be more sympathetic but also more controlling toward members of their own race. All citizens tended to be more cooperative with the older black officers. Younger white officers tended to find encounters with single black citizens more stressful than older officers of either race.

SECTION 4: PERSONALITY TESTING

The twelve observed officers were administered the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, a well-standardized, self-administered pencil and paper test. As a group they tested well within the

normal range. The only scales on the MMPI which showed any deviation from normal indicated that officers as a group tend to be somewhat over-energetic, enthusiastic, and restless, and to a lesser extent display some impulsiveness and distaste for authority.

SECTION 5: GROUPINGS OR TYPOLOGIES OF OFFICERS

By looking at the data in a number of ways, (including a review of all the behavioral data, the use of a retrospective paired comparison technique, and the comparison of these sources of data with the results of the MMPI), it was found that the officers tended to fall into one of two groups. We have labeled these the "older cooler" group and the "younger hotter" group. In general, it may be said that the older officers tend to be more sympathetic and humorous with citizens, to be less controlling, less responsive to stress, but also to display less "ego strength" and more false symptoms or hypochondriasis on the MMPI. There was some weak evidence that older officers tend to be more dependable. Younger officers, on the other hand, tend to be more controlling, suspicious, threatening, more responsive to stress, but to show more ego strength and less hypochondriasis. Independent of age, it was found that if an officer shows a constellation consisting of dependability, work initiative and high quality of work, he tends not to drive fast on the way to a call, not to respond highly to stress, and not to engage in weapon use frequently. When all analyses are looked at, it was found that the quality of the officer (as judged in a global retrospective way by the observers) is <u>not</u> related to any simple dimension. That

is, despite the grouping into "older-cooler" and "younger-hotter" officers, either one might be a quality officer. Also, a quality officer may be one who has either a high or a low stress response.

These data indicate that quality of police performance and prediction of police behavior do not depend on one or two simple dimensions. A multidimensional approach to police evaluation must be developed.

SECTION 6: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AND STUDY

Certain aspects of the research project warrant repeating in Miami and elsewhere, in order to validate the study. The study here reported was a pilot study and its findings clearly warrant pursuit of the same general methods and goals in a larger scale endeavor. Specifically, highly trained behavioral scientists should repeat the experience of "total immersion" in patrol or other sections of a police department in order to make the initial observations, and hypotheses derived from them which are necessary for the refinement and development of behavioral rating scales. In addition, it would be of great value to study the same department in this way at different times, together with the influences on the department, such as changes in policy, morale, etc., to understand what forces produce changes in police behavior over a period of time within a department. It would also be important to repeat the study in a number of cities of varying size to see how universal the phenomena we observed are, or how unique they may have been to Miami's size, geographic location, and somewhat unusual population. The use of a behavioral rating scale and of policement as observers would seem to be extremely useful in studies of this kind. However, in future research, training methods for observers would have to be refined in order to achieve a greater spread in ratings (without loss of reliability) so that richer data could be obtained. Other modifications to be considered in future projects of this sort would be to include other measures of stress and fatigue than was possible in this initial attempt.

Telemetric monitoring of galvanic skin response, heart rate, electromyograms, and blood pressure could be done without interfering with police performance and function.

Other sorts of studies are suggested by this project. It is perfectly clear that predominantly abrasive and potentially dangerous police-citizen interactions do not emerge from a statistical pool comprised of the average police-citizen interaction. In order to study the negative police-citizen interaction in more depth, one would have to take a sample of interactions between preselected impulsive policemen and uncooperative citizens. One could study such policemen, such citizens, and their interactions in more depth than was possible in the current study.

Factors which may well affect police performance but were beyond the scope of this study should also be investigated. These include, for example, the effects of events in the policeman's life outside of his work --marital problems, moonlighting jobs, newspaper and TV effects, and length of work day. As mentioned above, changes in morale, strategy, command, and reward systems of the department (in summary, the group dynamic of the department) are probably powerful determinants of police behavior which should be investigated.

SECTION 7: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICE SELECTION AND TRAINING

With regard to police selection, our data indicate that reliance on any single personality dimension for selection of men for radio-patrol work is likely to be inaccurate. Any selection program must recognize that more than one dimension must be used in the development

of selection criteria.

However, such a program that uses multi-dimensional selection techniques may not be an improvement unless the program clearly decides which of several factors will be "selected for". For instance, the use of lie detection tests, psychological tests, or psychiatric tests in themselves will not necessarily be an improvement if all the test procedures select along one dimension. In addition, the use of experienced officers in predicting performance of prospective recruits will be of special use only if they clearly understand that several variables need to be evaluated simultaneously and they know how to do it. A uni-dimension approach is likely to occur when judgements of officers (directly or by means of unstructed paired-comparisons) are used, as this study indicates. Without special training, judges are likely to make judgements which are not only unidimensional, but probably tend to over-emphasize the "Hot-Young" dimension, a dimension that is not necessarily best for police work at the radio-patrol level. Nor, in our view, are psychological tests and psychiatric interviews alone likely to predict deviant behavior in radio-patrolmen.

It may be that we are mis-classifying the problem. That is, since most men on police forces know the "odd" officers, no elaborate tests may be required to spot men who consistently behave in ways not in the interest of good police departments. The problem is what to do with these officers, i.e., it is an <u>administrative</u> problem and not a "<u>psychological</u>" one.

There are a number of implications of the current study for police training. During their training, police cadets should understand the

multiplicity of roles which they will be called upon to perform. They should be taught that most of their time will be taken up with non-crime fighting activities, and that they may be required to shift roles multiple times during the day. They should understand the difficulties this imposes as well as the different sorts of behavior required by each role.* They should be taught that each of these roles is very respectable, necessary, and a well-defined aspect of policing, and that rewards will be provided for good performance in each of them.

Several of the patrolmen-observers in this study found observing a number of other radio-patrolmen helpful. We suggest that formal, structured observing experience be used in some part of training. The observations must be monitored by teachers and the students must learn to observe difficult "stress" situations and various modes of response of radio-patrolmen.

There were three other specific pieces of data in the study which require attention in terms of patrolman training. First, the most stressful calls were those which occurred least frequently. Perhaps patrolmen could be particularly trained to be comfortable with these infrequently occurring calls during cadet school. Second, we suggest that for the most frequently occurring calls, special procedures and check lists be prepared and that recruits be required to perform minimal acts for the protection of the radio-patrolman and benefit of the citizen. Basic guidelines are known by good patrolmen and need to be standardized within departments. Third, it was quite clear that

*We refer here to the various, and sometimes conflicting roles of peace keeper, community service agent, crime fighter, individual on the streets, organization man, and the quasi-judicial role of the police.

peace keeping calls were perceived by police to be stressful and unsatisfying. Policemen clearly need more training in the handling of minor civil disturbances of all types.

Police patrol work is often not a pleasant job. There is not much humor, and there are few conditions for expressing sympathy and giving non-physical aid. Although citizens are not often overtly aggressive, they are also not usually positive and affectionate towards the police. We recommend that radio-patrolman be given specific training in responding to non-positive interactions with citizens.

Because of the role conflict inherrent in policing today, as well as the serious deleterious effects of inactivity and boredom, it is recommended that each cadet be trained in a sub-specialty, such as emergency medical care, settling minor civil disturbances, handling of alcoholics and/or drug addicts. During his regular patrol, he would also be expected to function in wide areas of the city as a specialist. The generalist-specialist would be kept more busy and less susceptible to boredom. Training toward being a generalist-specialist as an integral part of the policeman's identity should be started in cadet school.

Our findings clearly indicate that years of experience on the force are one of the major determining factors in police behavior, for better or worse. Therefore, once the department has decided which qualities it wishes to inculcate into its cadets, it should pick very well experienced men as training officers on the street during the probationary period. The importance of the process of identification by a cadet with an older officer and the adoption of his style of behavior cannot be overemphasized. The position of training officer in the

academy, and most particularly during a probationary period on the street, should be an honored and respected one within the department, probably with extra pay. No force will be more vital in shaping the behavior of the cadet than his identification with the style of his "mentor".

Finally, observations of peers and particularly of training officers could be made through use of behavioral rating scales during a probationary cadet period. This would provide an objective basis for retention of a man permanently on the force.

The cadet must be trained to anticipate and handle situations involving more than one citizen. The increment in stress from multiple citizen encounters was quite a striking finding.

We found, somewhat to our surprise, a wide difference between attitude and behavior, particularly in the area of racial differences and attitudes. That is, while policemen might express highly prejudiced attitudes, they behave in an even-handed fashion with all citizens, according to the data of our study. The necessity for this, and possibility of achieving it, could be emphasized during training. There is also an implication that positive attitudes in the police toward the citizenry at large or toward particular segments of the citizenry may not be as vital as has been thought in recent years. Apparently policemen can harbor quite negative attitudes yet behave in a consistent and professional fashion. Commitment of police resources to programs aimed at changing attitude, may not be as essential as programs aimed at increasing the consistency and professionalism of police behavior.

SECTION 8: IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICE OPERATIONS

Self-rated fatigue was not really a large factor in police performance. The most consistent and largest difference in rated fatigue was associated with the shift. Police say they are more fatigued when reporting for the midnight shift.

Inactivity on patrol also led to increments of fatigue and to increased controlling activity on the part of police in their police-citizen contact. Some way must be found in police operations to lessen the effects of inactivity and boredom. Possible ways of decreasing boredom would be the following: diminishing the number of radio patrol cars so that each would have a higher amount of activity; utilizing predictably quiet times for training and re-training activities; training patrolmen in a sub-specialty so that they could function in that sub-specialty in addition to their patrol activities, thus giving them more to do; and, perhaps most important, increasing the self-initiated police-citizen contacts of a friendly, non-adversary, non-legalistic nature. This may be particularly difficult on a midnight shift, for example, but insofar as it is possible, it would be a useful way of both combating boredom and of putting the police in better contact with the community.

Recognition of how policemen actually spend their time points up that the policeman suffers from role conflict. He wants to function as a crime fighter, but does not. He is not trained or rewarded for

being a peace keeper or community service agent.* His quasi-judicial role is poorly differentiated. He works on the one hand in an autonomous situation on the street, but on the other hand is supposed to be highly responsive to a chain of command. All these issues engender role conflict in the policeman. As policing develops into a profession, it may follow the lead of all other professions away from the concept of the generalist and into the concept of the specialist. Specialization would lead to a simplification and clarification of role for each policeman. For example, the peace keeping function could be primarily performed by neighborhood police teams while crime fighting activities could be primarily assumed by tactical units. This is being tried currently in a number of cities, but the effectiveness of this system has yet to be proved. Peace keeping roles must be endowed with the same respect, rewards, and commendations as crime fighting activities. Furthermore the role of the radio-patrolman as the key one in police operations would need to be underlined by providing incentives and rewards for good men to stay within the framework of radio patrol. As things are organized now, more ambitious men who wish higher pay and status tend to leave radio patrol for administration, detective

*Our study indicates that the notion of the policeman as a "social" worker is greatly over-extended. We put a scale on the observation schedule (educate-counsel) for citizens to assess the amount of educating and counseling occurring. There was not much. Much of the radio-patrolman's work is purely operational in the sense of controlling the interaction in order to fulfill the formally defined necessities of the job. Apart from training radio-policemen to perform the necessary operation parts of their jobs, police need not specifically train for social work type activities unless they deem it necessary for good performance. This study indicates that it is not now a large part of their current work (in Miami at least and probably elsewhere).

work, tactical squad work, or other higher prestige positions. Alternatively, the possibility must be considered that it is a myth that the radio-patrol is the most important part of police work. We suggest it may be a myth because the patrol is on the bottom of the heirarchy; many good men try to leave as soon as possible; and if any branch is offered up for research it is radio-patrol (as in the present study), perhaps because they have little relative power. Perhaps, the most important parts of a police department are between the radio-patrol (the bottom) and the chief (the top).

The issue of evaluation of police performance is a very difficult one, and needs considerably more research before it can be refined. However, as noted in the training section above, our study would indicate that police performance depends on a multiplicity of variables. Promotion and other rewards should be granted based upon knowledge of this, and evaluations should be done by various means and by a number of people, perhaps including the immediate supervisor, the patrolman's peers, perhaps citizens, and command.

Our final recommendation has to do with the use of the radio and the signals coming over the radio. Patrolmen were often annoyed at miniformation given by signals which were not descriptive either of the situation they were going to meet nor predictive of behavior which would be expected of them. It is our recommendation that the radio signal system be revamped so that it has implications for expected standards of behavior within these situations.

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